

SECRET

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 STATE 223244
ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 CIAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 (AS-01
 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00)/000 R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/CE:TEXT RECEIVED FROM WHITE HOUSE
APPROVED BY: EUR:HGILMORE
EUR/CE:GGLASS EUR/CE:ADMILLER
OSD/ISP:JMARESCA S/S:BLPASCOE
S/S-O:JNORRIS

-----113457 211622Z /38

O P 210209Z JUL 87
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY EMBERLIN PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 223244

EXDIS, FOR AMB. BURT DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: BZ, GE, GC, XT, XH
SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENT'S BERLIN INITIATIVE
-

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. OUR TASK IN THE WEEKS AHEAD IS TO MAINTAIN THE
MOMENTUM GENERATED BY THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN BERLIN ON
JUNE 12. SPECIFICALLY, WE NEED QUICKLY TO TURN THE
GENERAL IDEAS WHICH THE PRESIDENT OUTLINED IN BERLIN INTO
CONCRETE NEGOTIATING PROPOSALS, WHICH WE AND OUR FRENCH
AND BRITISH ALLIES CAN PUT TO THE SOVIETS.

THE PARAGRAPHS THAT FOLLOW SEEK TO SUMMARIZE WHAT WE
CONSIDER FUNDAMENTAL U.S. GOALS, OBJECTIVES, AND

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 223244

NEGOTIATING GUIDELINES AND PRINCIPALS FOR BERLIN. 1N
PREPARING THIS DOCUMENT, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO TAKE INTO
ACCOUNT VIEWS PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED BY STATE AND DEFENSE.

~~SECRET~~
UNCLASSIFIEDU.S. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

1. TO REAFFIRM QUADRIpartite RESPONSIBILITY
(U.S.-UK-FRENCH-SOVIET) FOR BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE.
2. TO DEMONSTRATE TO GERMANS IN BERLIN AND THE FRG A
CONTINUED U.S. (ALSO UK AND FRENCH) COMMITMENT TO SEEKING
PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN BERLIN, SPONSORING PROGRESS ON
THE BASIC QUESTION OF GERMAN UNITY, AND EXPANDING
EAST-WEST TIES GENERALLY.
3. TO CHALLENGE THE SOVIET UNION TO TURN TALK OF
GLASNOST (OPENNESS) INTO CONCRETE RESULTS BENEFITING
EUROPEAN SECURITY AND FREEDOM. IN THE EVENT OF EASTERN
OBSTRUCTIONISM, TO SHOW THAT THE OBSTACLES TO CHANGE ARE
IN THE EAST, NOT THE WEST.
4. TO PRESERVE AND, IF POSSIBLE, STRENGTHEN THE
COMMERCIAL VIABILITY OF U.S. (ALSO UK AND FRENCH) AIR
CARRIERS USING THE AIR CORRIDORS TO BERLIN.
5. TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL AIR FLIGHTS TO
AND FROM WEST BERLIN AIRPORTS, BY ARRANGING FOR ALLIED
AND THIRD COUNTRY CARRIERS TO PROCEED OUTSIDE THE
CORRIDORS ON NEW NORTH-SOUTH ROUTES.
6. TO EXPLORE WITH THE UK AND FRANCE POSSIBLE STRATEGIES
FOR ACHIEVING THE AGREED ALLIED GOAL OF HAVING NO SOVIET
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 223244

RESERVATIONS OF CORRIDOR AIRSPACE OUT TO 37 MILES WEST OF
THE CENTER OF THE BER-LIN CONTROL ZONE, AND FOR SECURING
IN PRACTICE OUR RIGHT TO FLY IN THE CORRIDORS AT
ALTITUDES SIGNIFICANTLY ABOVE 10,000 FEET, A LEVEL WHICH
THE SOVIETS HAVE SOUGHT TO IMPOSE AS AN OPERATIONAL
CEILING FOR ALLIED FLIGHTS. IN DEVELOPING THESE
STRATEGIES, IT SHOULD BE CLEAR IN ADVANCE THAT WE RULE
OUT ANY DISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES WITH THE SOVIETS IN A
MANNER THAT WOULD (A) OPEN UP A GENERAL RE-NEGOTIATION OF
THE AIR CORRIDOR REGIME; (B) SUGGEST WE FAVOR FOREGOING
ANY PRESENT USE OF CORRIDOR AIRSPACE, SUCH AS LOWER-LEVEL
FLIGHTS; OR (C) IMPLY A LARGER GDR ROLE WITH RESPECT TO
THE CORRIDOR REGIME. WE WOULD WANT TO MAINTAIN THE
AGREED ALLIED PRINCIPLE OF QUADRIpartite MANAGEMENT OF
THE AIR CORRIDORS.

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET

~~SECRET~~
UNCLASSIFIED

7. TO RE-ASSERT ALLIED CONTROL, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, OVER WESTERN AIR RELATIONS WITH THE GDR, INCLUDING RELATIONS BETWEEN FRG AND GDR CARRIERS (LUFTHANSA AND INTERFLUG) AND TO GUIDE THOSE RELATIONS IN A DIRECTION CONSISTENT WITH OUR INTERESTS. AS PART OF THIS PROCESS, OUR OBJECTIVE WOULD BE TO ALLOW LUFTHANSA TO STOP IN WEST BERLIN (WITH LIMITED RIGHT TO DISCHARGE AND BOARD PASSENGERS) ON FLIGHTS BETWEEN THE FRG AND SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN CITIES, AND TO PROVIDE SERVICE TO SELECTED

GDR CITIES; IN RETURN, EAST GERMAN INTERFLUG WOULD BE GRANTED PERMISSION TO PROVIDE SERVICE TO SELECTED FRG CITIES FROM POINTS IN THE GDR OTHER THAN SCHOENFELD AIRPORT NEAR BERLIN.

8. TO PROMOTE BERLIN, IN CONJUNCTION WITH FRG SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS, AS THE SITE FOR FUTURE OLYMPIC GAMES, AND AS THE LOCATION OF INTERNATIONAL SPORTS COMPETITIONS OF ALL KINDS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 223244

9. TO HAVE BERLIN SERVE AS A SITE FOR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, INCLUDING UN MEETINGS, ARMS CONTROL AND HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSIONS.

10. TO SPONSOR AND ARRANGE YOUTH EXCHANGE PROGRAMS OF ALL KINDS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BERLIN, INCLUDING SUMMER CAMPS, CULTURAL EVENTS, SPORTS COMPETITIONS AND TOURIST VISITS.

NEGOTIATING GUIDELINES AND PRINCIPLES

IN PURSUING THE INITIATIVE, THE U.S. WOULD ADHERE CLOSELY TO SOME BASIC GUIDELINES AND PRINCIPLES. THE U.S. WOULD:

-- REBUFF ANY EAST GERMAN OR SOVIET EFFORTS TO USE NEGOTIATIONS TO ADVANCE THEIR INTERPRETATION OF BERLIN STATUS ISSUES, PARTICULARLY THE CLAIM THAT EAST BERLIN IS THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR AND NOT SUBJECT TO FOUR POWER CONTROL.

-- AVOID PUBLIC STATEMENTS OR ACTIONS THAT WOULD RAISE UNDULY THE EXPECTATIONS OF WEST GERMANS AND WEST

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET

~~SECRET~~
UNCLASSIFIED

BERLINERS (AND THUS PUT PRESSURE UPON OURSELVES)
REGARDING POSSIBLE SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS IN OR EXPANSION
OF AIR SERVICE TO WEST BERLIN.

-- ENSURE THE CONTINUED VIABILITY OF THE BERLIN AIR
CORRIDOR REGIME BY AVOIDING ANY STEPS THAT WOULD RESTRICT
OUR USE OF THE CORRIDORS OR UNDERCUT AGREED RULES FOR
CORRIDOR FLIGHTS, THREATEN THROUGH COMPETITION OR
OTHERWISE THE U.S.-UK-FRENCH CIVIL AIR TRAFFIC THROUGH
THE CORRIDORS (THE ONLY AIR LIFELINE TO BERLIN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05

STATE 223244

ESTABLISHED BY FOUR POWER AGREEMENT AND NOT SUBJECT TO
EAST GERMAN CONTROL), OR ALLOW THE GDR TO GAIN CONTROL
OVER AIRSPACE MANAGEMENT OR CIVIL FLIGHTS TO WEST BERLIN.

-- MAINTAIN ALLIED UNITY AND COHESION BY WORKING CLOSELY
WITH THE UK AND FRENCH IN REFINING SPECIFIC INITIATIVES,

INVOLVING WEST BERLIN AND WEST GERMAN AUTHORITIES, IN
APPROPRIATE WAYS, IN PURSUIT OF THE INITIATIVE'S
COMPONENTS, AND KEEPING OTHER ALLIES APPROPRIATELY
INFORMED.

SHULTZ

UNCLASSIFIED
SECRET